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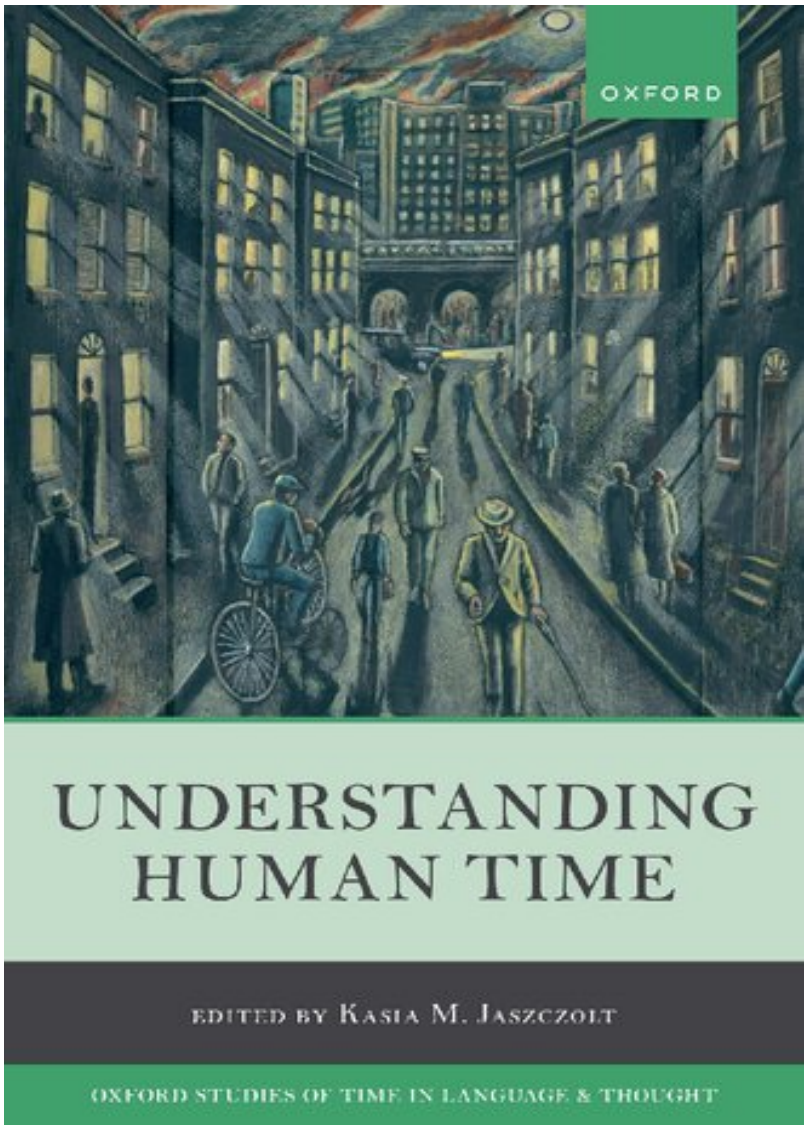

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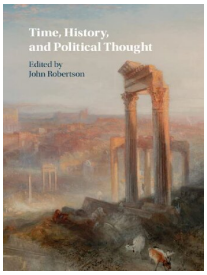

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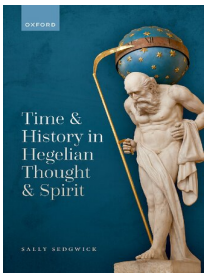

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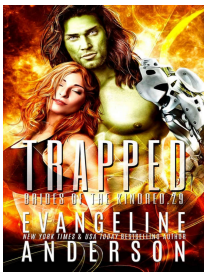

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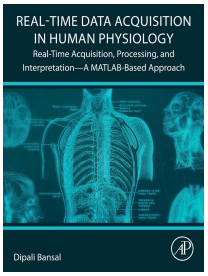

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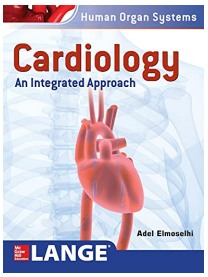

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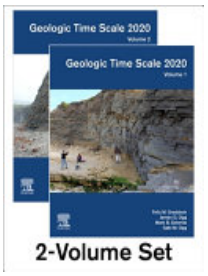

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UNDERSTANDING HUMAN TIME

EDITED BY KASIA M. JASZCZOLT

OXFORD STUDIES OF TIME IN LANGUAGE & THOUGHT

Understanding Human Time

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General preface

The series *Oxford Studies of Time in Language and Thought* identifies and promotes pioneering research on the human concept of time and its representation in natural language. Representing time in language is one of the most debated issues in semantic theory and is riddled with unresolved questions, puzzles, and paradoxes. The series aims to advance the development of adequate accounts and explanations of such basic matters as (i) the interaction of the temporal information conveyed by tense, aspect, temporal adverbials, and context; (ii) the representation of temporal relations between events and states; (iii) human conceptualization of time; (iv) the ontology of time; and (v) relations between events and states (eventualities), facts, propositions, sentences, and utterances, among other topics. The series also seeks to advance time-related research in such key areas as language modelling in computational linguistics, linguistic typology, and the linguistic relativity/universalism debate, as well as in theoretical and applied contrastive studies.

The central questions to be addressed concern the concept of time as it is lexicalized and grammaticalized in the different languages of the world. But its scope and the style in which its books are written reflects the fact that the representation of time interests those in many disciplines besides linguistics, including philosophy, psychology, sociology, and anthropology.

Preface

Linguists, philosophers, psychologists, poets, physicists, but often also people across every known profession want to get to the bottom of the meaning of time. What does it mean that time flows? Scientists tell us that it is just a dimension of spacetime, so why can't we conceptualize time as something akin to space (unless we try very, very hard)? Also, why are sci-fi novelists, film scriptwriters, and their respective readers and viewers so fascinated by time travel and its scientific underpinnings? Why does time fly when we want it to slow down and drags on and on when we want it to speed up? And, what exactly does it mean that 'time speeds up'? Passing faster than a second per second? Most of all, how do all these queries and scraps of information and experience sum up to what we would like to call the human concept of time? Or, perhaps, 'concepts' if cross-cultural differences are better foregrounded than ironed out at some universal level? In fact, how much information about such a level of universal concepts do natural languages reveal? Or, indeed, how much do they reveal about culture- and language-specific concepts?

All contributors to this unique collection have their own preferred selections and rankings of questions about time, spanning different areas of linguistics and philosophy. What unites us here is the goal of shedding more light on the human concept of time, approaching it from various angles. However, the resulting collection is more (not less) closely knit through its multi-dimensionality. Where most *cross*-disciplinary collections are found wanting is their unfulfilled aspiration to being truly *inter*-disciplinary. The idea behind composing this volume is that true interdisciplinarity can sparkle when ideas of different contributors are juxtaposed in a way that forms a particular roadmap through the tangle of questions about the human concept of time. Therefore, in the Introduction, I offer a range of possible dimensions that can be picked and chosen for such a roadmap, followed by one sample roadmap selected for this volume, pointing out at every step how a different path could have been taken, had different dimensions of inquiry been foregrounded at that particular step. The idea is simple: we know that meaning is dynamic and co-constructed, and as such does not break down neatly to particular speakers' meanings (see e.g. Elder and Haugh 2018 for one such model and Jaszczolt and

Berthon forthcoming for an overview). This also applies to the meta-level of concept construction or concept unpacking—and in this instance the human concept of time and its kins. Next, such a meta-level co-construction can itself be a many-phase process—beginning with externalizing ideas and brainstorming and ending with fitting the outcomes in a particular roadmap (see the order of the chapters in the Contents), but also, here, suggesting the options of other roadmaps (see Introduction), and finally leaving it to the readers to bounce the ideas off again for themselves. This produces an interactive approach to the search for understanding human time. In other words, the process begins in the most familiar way, with different individual (but calibrated) research questions and proposed solutions (phase 1), followed by bouncing them off other contributors' questions and solutions—if successful, then to the benefit of such questions and solutions (phase 2). Here is where our workshop comes in: *Understanding Human Time*, held on 9–10 April 2021—sadly, not in Newnham College, Cambridge as planned, but virtually, due to the pandemic, but hopefully with no less interest and enthusiasm. The discussions it generated take us to phase 3—writing what follows, further thought through with the invaluable help of Reviewers to whom I hereby send my words of gratitude. Phase 4 is to be attributed to yours truly, the editor: extracting a range of dimensions of inquiry and using them as a guide for ordering the contributions and making them speak to each other in order to create a roadmap through them. The Reader can follow the roadmap or, with the help of my other examples of roadmaps in the Introduction, follow their own.[1] Doing the latter repeats the process, with all the advantages of such a multi-roadmap approach. This is where there is scope for interdisciplinarity to evolve further: depending on the selected roadmap and the dimensions according to which it is drawn, one can begin to address novel questions about human time and stumble across novel perspectives and answers.

In addition to acknowledging the help of the Reviewers, I would also like to thank the OUP Commissioning Editor Julia Steer for her support and patience—it took longer than planned to put this volume together, facing various Covid-related restrictions and delays. Next, I owe thanks to Mireia Cabanes Calabuig for her editorial assistance, especially with collating the references. But most of all, I would like to thank my colleagues—linguists and philosophers who accepted my invitation to contribute to this rather special

[1] I followed this idea of a personalized journey on a much larger scale in my authored journey through semantics, pragmatics, and philosophy (Jaszczolt, 2023) to demonstrate how gathered wisdom can point to different novel ideas depending on a path taken.

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workshop and the resulting volume. The book has also benefited from my participation in the research project *CHRONOS: Rethinking and Communicating Time* (PID2019-108762GB-I00) funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (MCIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033).

Cambridge, 1 August 2022

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Giuliano Torrengo is an Associate Professor at the Department of Philosophy 'Piero Martinetti' of the University of Milan, the founder and coordinator of the Centre for Philosophy of Time, and research fellow at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. He is the PI of the project *CHRONOS: Rethinking and Communicating Time* of the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation. Torrengo's current focus of interest is the connection between temporal experience and the fundamental features of temporal reality.

1

Introduction

Metaphysical time, human time, and time in language

Kasia M. Jaszczolt

1.1 *Time tout court* and the dimensions of inquiry

Understanding the human concept(s) of time straddles different disciplinary boundaries. This is a book for linguists and for philosophers—with the proviso that it aims at attracting *both* categories of readers (if indeed a boundary can be drawn) to *both* categories of papers. The aim is motivated by the big question of the characteristics of what we humans understand as the concept of time and feel as the passage of time. 'Our time', human time, is the time in thoughts, and as such, time in our epistemic attitudes such as belief (that time passes), knowledge (that death is inevitable), or fear (that I am going to be late). It is also the time of our feelings and sensations. It is the time that we (think we) experience, and as such it is the Big Unknown that, at one end, touches upon the *real time* of spacetime pursued through the laws of physics on the micro-level of human reality, and, at the other, *time in language and discourse*, pursued by linguists on the macro-level of social reality or, more traditionally (and formally) also in a bubble of an abstract construct of a *language system*. Both relations shed light on it, but they both still hide mysteries and secrets. They also obfuscate it by adding a dimension on which we have to calibrate what exactly we talk about when we talk about 'time'.

This volume touches upon them both, combining insights into the concept of time and the feeling of the passage of time (if indeed this is what it is—passage of time—but read on) with insights into (i) how best to conceive of real time (through questions to do with its nature, as static or dynamic), as well as research into (ii) using temporal expressions in natural language, or indeed explicitly speaking about time. In other words, windows on human time open from what we *know* and *think we know* (that is, have well-supported theories of) about ourselves and our comprehension of the universe (here philosophical aspects come in) and what we know and think we know about

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our activities and behaviour in it—for the purpose of this volume, especially linguistic behaviour.

Pertinent questions are ample and can be arranged along several different dimensions, such as the following. '↔' stands for bi-directional travel (although some directions will be more well-trodden and more feasible than others).

[1] the feeling, sensation, experience of time passing ↔ the concept of time;
[2] speaking about time ↔ thinking about time;
[3] thinking in time ↔ the concept of time;
[4] the awareness of human time ↔ the awareness of real time of spacetime;
[5] the properties of human time ↔ the properties of spacetime;
[6] temporal thoughts ↔ modal thoughts;
[7] temporal expressions ↔ expressions of modality and aspect;
[8] consciousness ↔ human time;
[9] human space ↔ human time;
[10] feeling of time passing ↔ emotions,

to name a few seminal ones. I have deliberately arranged this selection of dimensions in an order that does not attempt to distinguish between philosophical, linguistic, and psychological questions in that the very raison d'être of this collection of papers is to demonstrate the advantage of thinking outside such categories—not merely outside theories within fields but also really, truly, and freely as an organized whole, crossing disciplinary boundaries. Such aspects and dimensions sum up to an investigation into the reality of *time tout court*, normally separately pursued within the metaphysical, cognitive, and linguistic domain—with the input from microphysics at one end, and human sciences including poetics at the other.

One of the basic questions is where time is to be found. On the level of the physical laws of the universe, the answer appears to be: as dimensions of spacetime. But it is still debated whether spacetime exists on the fundamental level of reality, or, rather is itself emergent, as has been suggested in theories of quantum gravity (see e.g. Rovelli 2018). And if it is emergent, one has to ask what kind of metaphysical emergence it is—that is, how time, as the emergent feature, relates to the feature from which it emerges: in addition to the assumed co-temporal *material* dependence, how ontologically and causally autonomous it has to be (see e.g. Wilson 2021, 2022 on strong and

weak dependence and types of dependence; see also Baron 2019). As such, time need not be thought of as reducible to this lower level: emergence does not mean reduction (but see also Jaszczolt 2020 on the explanatory role of reductionism). Next, once we move to the ontologically autonomous level of organic life, and especially beings with conscious awareness, we can legitimately conceptualize this autonomy of time as fundamentality of time and as such spacetime. But this is only the first hurdle; the next one is the step from real time so conceived, time of the static universe, to the dynamic, flowing human time. Here, again, giving ourselves the option of moving back and forth along the relevant dimension (dimension 5) creates the much-needed conceptual frame in that, on the one hand, conceptualization of the universe specific to humans allows us specific insights into the symmetrical universe, obfuscating others, and barring yet others (dimension 5 above, forward direction; see e.g. Price 1996), while on the other, the understanding of the micro-laws of physics allows us a much better insight into the emergent reality of complex systems like ourselves (dimension 5, backward direction; see e.g. Ismael 2016). Here is where, assuming real time doesn't flow but events are ordered as relatively earlier or later (that, is McTaggart's (1908) B-series), or assuming the symmetrical universe and as such McTaggart's C-series of time that not only doesn't flow but does not have a direction either (see Farr, this volume), we begin asking the question about the flow: how it is that we feel it (if indeed we do) and where this feeling comes from. The grounding is provided by the concepts of consciousness, personal identity, and self-awareness, in that the passage of time comes with the enduring self. Now, we either experience time as if it were passing (phenomenal passage illusionism, see e.g. Torrengo 2017a, this volume; Prosser 2012, 2013a, 2016) or we only think we do (phenomenal passage eliminativism; see e.g. Hoerl 2014) in that we may only believe that it passes (phenomenal passage cognitivism; see Farr, this volume, Sections 8.4.1 and 8.4.4). Once we address the feelings, we also address emotions (e.g. Piata 2018, this volume; Prosser, this volume). Then we can move to the human concept of time itself (e.g. Jaszczolt, this volume) and to the most important sources of knowledge about this concept, that is its linguistic realizations in different languages, cultures (Caudal, this volume; Everett, this volume; Jaszczolt, this volume), functions, and levels of linguistic analysis (Saussure, this volume; Caudal, this volume; Piata, this volume).

Note that the very repetitions of the contributions per theme testify to the methodology adopted here (and in the workshop from which this collection originated) of a multidimensional approach, where the bunches of adopted dimensions differ from chapter to chapter but substantially overlap. (I will risk

here a programmatic thought that should such a project be developed into a principal research programme, the insights into *time tout court* would be fast forthcoming and exciting indeed.)

1.2 A roadmap to the collection

In view of these assumptions and methodology, the volume allows for drawing multiple roadmaps between the chapters, whereby links can be established according to the above (and more) dimensions. I will suggest some sample roadmaps here but, to reiterate, the very raison d'être of this compilation is to draw attention to the availability of many novel paths through research on time—real time and human time, here with special emphasis on evidence from temporality in language and discourse.

We begin the inquiry with the importance of the *ego* and in particular with the perspective it imposes on eventualities, that is with egocentric mental states. In Chapter 2 ('Tense and emotion'), Simon Prosser takes on board the well-rehearsed 'thank goodness' argument by which, originally, Arthur Prior attempted to rescue the view that time flows—that is, McTaggart's A-theory, that the past, present, and future are all real (also known as 'tensism', that is, tensed view on reality—not to be confused with the use of the term 'tense' in 'grammatical tense'). The gist of Prior's defence of tensism is that thinking of a, say, painful dental procedure as being *in the past* comes with different attitudes and emotions than thinking of it as, say, being on Monday at 10am. But, as Prosser argues, the scenario can also be used in conjunction with the B-theoretic outlook: time as such doesn't flow but thoughts about the past, present, and future are egocentric—bound to the thinker who assesses the relation between an eventuality and themselves as, say, being in the past. Then, the explanation for the emotional attitude of relief comes from the evolutionary utility of such reactions.

In our roadmap, this gives us several possible routes to take: we can probe deeper into the subjectivity and emotional attitudes to time (Piata, Torrengo); continue on the topic of tenseless reality (Torrengo, Farr, Mozersky—again, in variable orders); pursue the first-person perspective on time (Jaszczolt); or go into the expression of past-tense reference in natural language (Saussure, Forbes) and through it to cross-linguistic insights into temporal reference in discourse (Caudal, Everett). Some routes are more discernible than others but pursuing all of them makes sense. Here we choose to follow subjectivity and emotions in the poetics of time. In Chapter 3 ('An exploration into construals of subjective time in poetry'), Anna Piata sheds new

light on the human understanding of time by investigating how temporal experience, and in particular the order and duration of eventualities and the passage of time, are captured in poetry. Having presented some landmarks in the phenomenology of time, she moves to the mental representations of these aspects of temporality, finding that the utility of time for the subjects makes a great difference to conceptualization, as reflected in the utilized (often metaphorical and open-ended) expressions. Such a functionalist analysis is traced back to the idea of embodied cognition in cognitive semantics that locates the representation of states and events, including their temporality and emotional attitudes to it, in the human body—arguably, making the 'subjective' less subjective through such interdisciplinary insights.

At the next crossroads, again, we are relatively free to choose a path. In addition to continuing straight ahead to the subjectivity of temporal experience but stepping from the level of poetics to metaphysics (e.g. Torrengo, or back to Prosser and then forward), one inviting and suitably challenging path is that of the semantics of temporal expressions—the question of meaning and truth as its explanans. In Chapter 4 ('The 2D past'), Graeme A. Forbes looks into the metaphysical significance of grammatical tense and aspect, pointing out that focusing on the somewhat neglected role of aspect (that is, situation-internal time) sheds light on the question 'When am I?' (meaning asking about one's objective temporal location), in that, whether the situation is, say, ongoing or completed can make a difference when assessed from the perspective of the relative future. He makes use of the concept of two-dimensional (2D) semantics, also using it to confront stubborn cases where the truth value changes a posteriori, say, when all circumstances of a past eventuality are revealed.

We can now choose to move ahead with the question of semantic and metaphysical utility of grammatical categories employed for expressing temporal reference, also staying close to the topic of perspective-taking focused on in Forbes' paper. In Chapter 5 ('Counterfactuality as pragmatic inference in perspectival readings of Past Conditional utterances with modal verbs: Evidence from French'), Louis de Saussure looks at the relative scope of modality and tense markers in epistemic modal constructions ('John might have been surprised.'), pointing out that their French counterparts ('Pierre aurait dû être surpris.') give rise to a counterfactual reading, thereby suggesting that the relative scope is not MODAL>PAST, like for the English constructions, but rather PAST>MODAL. He then inquiries into the possibility of a compositional explanation that would reveal the source of the pastness of the epistemic attitude in French, as contrasted with the present-time location in English. He offers a linguistic-pragmatic solution consisting of a perspectival shift that allows the

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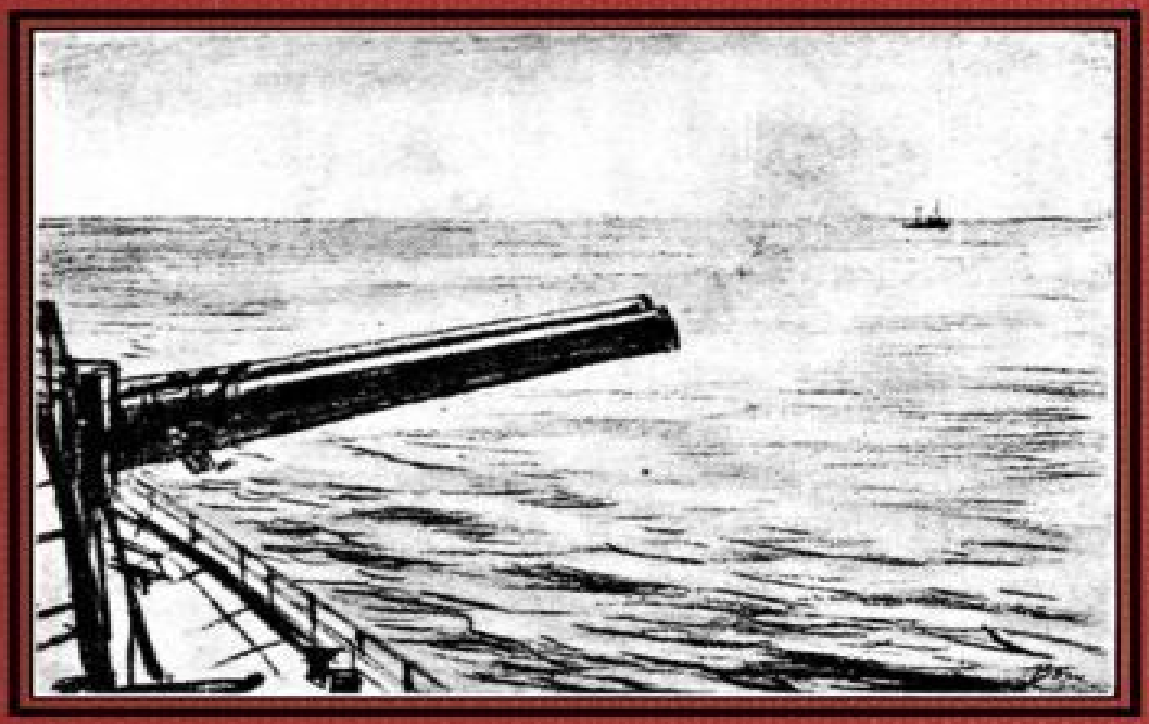

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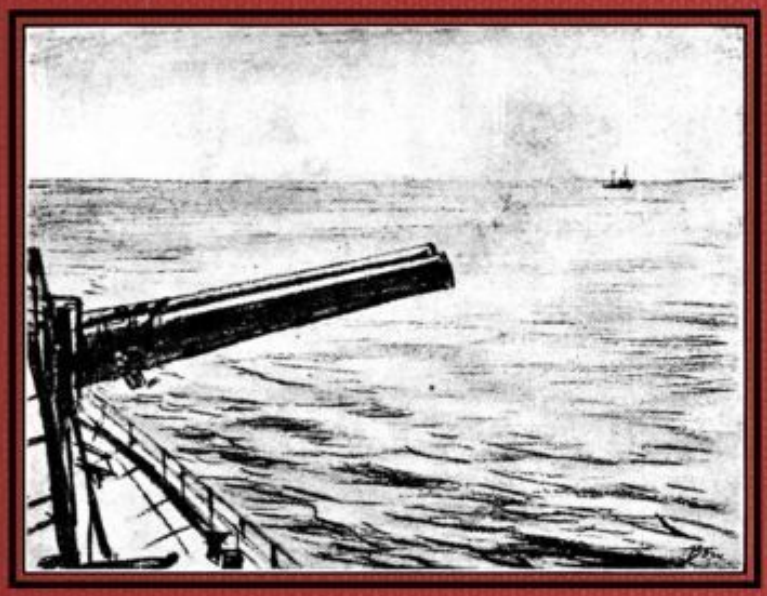

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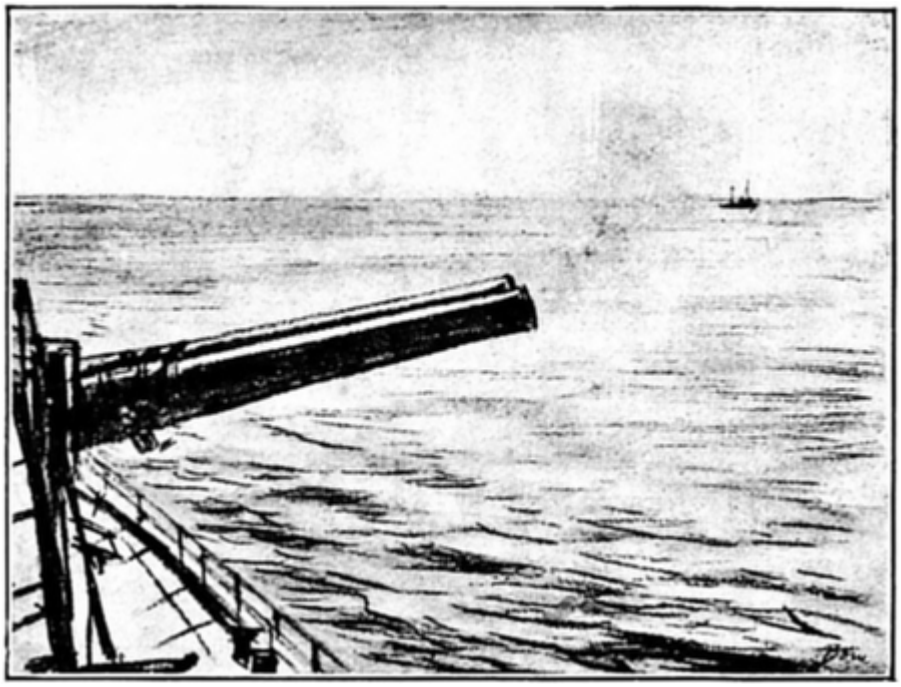

By

JOHN LEYLAND

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THE ACHIEVEMENT *of the* BRITISH NAVY IN THE WORLD-WAR :: JOHN LEYLAND

THE KING CHATTING WITH ADMIRAL BEATTY

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE BRITISH NAVY IN THE WORLD-WAR

BY

JOHN LEYLAND

ILLUSTRATED

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THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE BRITISH NAVY IN THE WORLD-WAR

CHAPTER I

Duties and Responsibilities of the Sea Service

Had I the fabled herb
  That brought to life the dead,
Whom would I dare disturb
  In his eternal bed?
Great Grenville would I wake,
And with glad tidings make
The soul of mighty Drake
  Lift an exulting head.

William Watson.

WHEN King George returned from the visit he paid to the Grand Fleet in June, 1917, he sent a message to Admiral Sir David Beatty, who had succeeded Sir John Jellicoe in the command, in which he said that "never had the British Navy stood higher in the estimation of friend or foe." His Majesty spoke of people who reason and understand. But it is certainly true that the work of the Sea Service during this unparalleled war has never been properly appreciated by many of those who have benefited by it most. The silent Navy does its work unobserved. The record of its heroism and the services it renders pass unobserved by the multitude. Sometimes it emerges to strike a blow, engage in a "scrap," or, it may be, to fight a battle, and then it retires into

obscurity again. Its achievements are forgotten. Only the bombardment of a coast town or the torpedoing of a big ship, which the Navy did not frustrate, is remembered. Such has been the case in all the naval campaigns of the past. Englishmen, who depend upon the Navy for their security and the means of their life and livelihood, as well as for their power of action against their enemies, are but half conscious of what the Fleet is doing for them. On this matter, British statesmen, when they speak about the war, almost invariably fail to enlighten them.

Who can wonder that people in the Allied countries are still less able to realise that behind all the fighting of their own armies lies the influence of sea-power, exercised by the British Fleet and the fleets that came one after another into co-operation with it? Without this power of the sea there could have been no hope of success in the war. As the King said, the Navy defends British shores and commerce, and secures for England and her Allies the ocean highways of the world. The purpose of this book is to show how these things are done.

On the first day of hostilities the British Navy laid hold upon the road that would lead to victory. There is no hyperbole in saying that the Grand Fleet, in its northern anchorages, from the very beginning, influenced the military situation throughout the world, and made possible many of the operations of the armies, which could neither have been successfully initiated nor continued without it. But in the early days of August, 1914, when, from the war cloud which had overshadowed Europe, broke forth the lurid horrors of the conflict, the situation was extremely critical. What was required to be done had to be done quickly and unhesitatingly, lest the enemy should strike an unforeseen blow. Happily, with faultless knowledge, the strategy of the emergency was realised, and with unerring instinct and sagacity it was applied. The foresight of great naval administrators, and chiefly of Lord Fisher, who had brought about the regeneration of the British Navy, shaping it for modern conditions, was justified a thousandfold.

Never was the need of exerting sea command more urgent than at the outbreak of war. Everything that Englishmen had won in all the centuries of the storied past was involved in the quarrel. Only by mastery of the sea could the country be made secure. Its soil had never been trodden by an invader since Norman William came in 1066. The very food that was eaten and the things by which the industries and commerce of the country existed demanded control at sea. If the British Empire was to be safe from aggression it must be safeguarded on every sea. If England was to set armies in any foreign field of operations, and to retain and maintain them there, with the gigantic supplies they would require; if she was to render help to her Allies in men or munitions or anything else, whether they came from England, or the United States, or any other country, and were landed in France, Russia, Italy, or Greece, or in Egypt, Mesopotamia, or East or West Africa, for the defeat of the enemy, that must be done by virtue of power at sea. Therefore, in this war, as John Hollond, writing his *Discourse of the Navy* in 1638, said of the wars of his time, "the naval part is the thread that runs through the whole wooft, the burden of the song, the scope of the text."

The moment when the First Fleet, as it was then called, slipped away from its anchorage at Portland on the morning of Wednesday, July 29th, 1914, will yet be regarded as one of the decisive moments of history. The initiative had been seized, and all real initiative was thenceforward denied to the enemy. The gauge of victory had been won. "Time is everything; five minutes makes the difference between a victory and a defeat," said Nelson. "The advantage and gain of time and place will be the only and chief means for our good," Drake had said before him. By a fortunate circumstance, which should have arrested the imagination as with a presage of victory—a circumstance arranged five months before, as the result of a series of most intricate preparations—time and place were both on the British side.

The First, Second, and Third Fleets, and the flotillas attached to them, had been mobilised as a test operation, and inspected at Spithead by King George, on July 20th. The First Fleet had returned

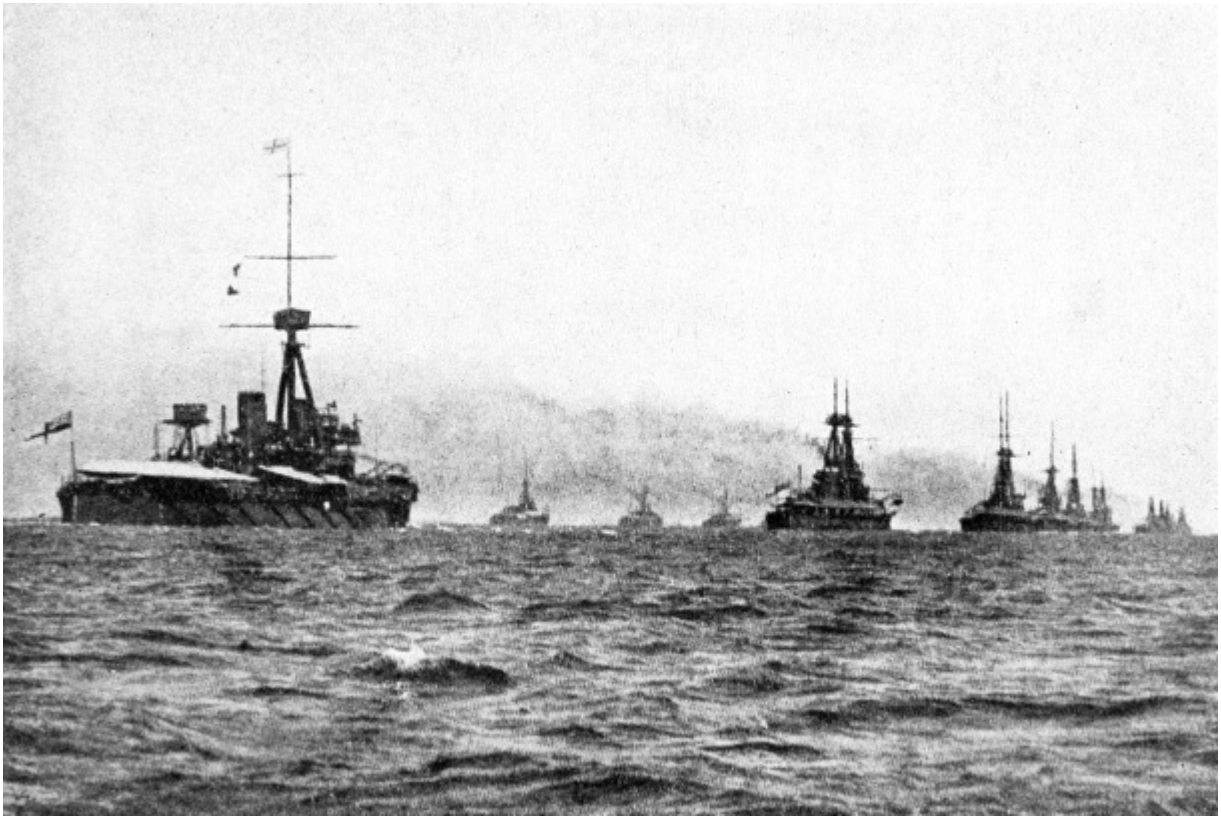
to Portland and the other fleets to their home ports, where the surplus or "balance" crews of the Naval Reserves were to be sent on shore. Then had come the now famous order to "stand fast," issued on the night of Sunday, July 26th, which had stopped the process of demobilisation. Dark clouds had shadowed the international horizon. Austria-Hungary had presented her ultimatum to Serbia. She declared war on the 28th. The Second Fleet remained, therefore, in proximity to its reserves of men, and the men were ready to be re-embarked in the Third Fleet.

Few people realised at the time the immense significance of the memorable eastward movement of the squadrons from Portland Roads, or of the assembly of those powerful forces at their northern strategic anchorages. Those forces became the Grand Fleet, that unexampled organisation of fighting force, under command of that fine sea officer, Admiral Sir John Jellicoe. War was declared by Great Britain on August 4th. Successive steps of supreme importance were taken, which, in very truth, saved the cause of the Allies. Disaster and surprise attack were forestalled. The Fleet, fully mobilised, and growing daily in strength, was already exerting command of the sea, and the safe transport of the Expeditionary Force to France was assured. Co-operation with the French Fleet was immediately established—its cruiser squadron in the Channel and its battle squadrons in the Mediterranean.

Fighting episodes were not delayed, but for many months the operations of the Grand Fleet remained shrouded as by a veil, lifted only on rare occasions. Few people knew the tremendous anxieties and responsibility of the British Commander-in-Chief. His vast command of vessels of all classes and uses had to be organised into a mighty fleet, complete in every element—battle squadrons, battle-cruiser squadrons, light-cruiser squadrons, flotillas and auxiliaries, transports, hospital ships, and every ship and thing that a fleet can require. A whole series of intricate dispositions had to be made. Officers were to be inspired with the ideas of the Commander-in-Chief and the whole Fleet was to be so trained, under squadron and

flotilla commanders, that each would know on the instant how he should act.

If Nelson, in 1789, spent many hours in explaining to his "band of brothers" his plans for his attack at the Nile, with fourteen sail-of-the-line, what must it have been for Sir John Jellicoe to communicate to his officers, and discuss with them, all his plans for every emergency or call for the service of every squadron and ship in his vast command? All this must be realised now. And during the anxious early months of the war, as the winter was drawing near, the great anchorages were as yet unprotected, and safety from hostile submarines could often only be found in rapid steaming at sea. The mining campaign of the enemy had also to be overcome. The anxieties were enormous, and it was only the power of command, the sea instinct, the deep understanding, the readiness to act in moments of extraordinary responsibility, and the resource and professional skill of the Commander-in-Chief and his staff and officers in command, that enabled the tremendous work to be accomplished.



A BRITISH FLEET STEAMING IN LINE AHEAD

DRIFTERS WORKING AT SEA

While this was in progress other work of immense significance had been going on. The Admiralty had undertaken a gigantic task of supreme importance with complete success. Great defensive preparations were made in British waters, where all traffic was regulated and controlled. The vast maritime resources of the country were added to the naval service. Two battleships building for Turkey, another for Chile, and certain flotilla leaders and other craft building in the country, were taken over. Officers and men in abundance were ready. The magnificent seafaring populations of the merchant marine and the fisheries were drawn into the naval service, and subsequently the whole mercantile marine was brought under naval control, and for practical purposes was embodied with the Navy. Officers and men of these services showed splendid heroism in situations of terror and responsibility never anticipated.

A wide network of patrols was brought into being; the blockade was organised and strengthened; the examination services were set on foot and perfected; and the coast sectors of defence, with their flotillas, were raised to a standard of high efficiency. Mine-sweepers and net-drifters were at work. Every shipyard in the country and a multitude of engineering and ammunition works began to buzz with work for the Navy and the mercantile marine. Provision was made for dealing with the raiding cruisers and armed merchantmen of the enemy.

At the time, the public knew little or nothing of what was in progress. Imagination fails even now to grasp the magnitude of what was achieved. The naval share in the campaign was of baffling obscurity, while the stage of the war on land became crowded with fighting men, locked in a terrible conflict, which at that time seemed to bode no good to the Allies. After the brush in the Heligoland Bight on August 28th, 1914, the Fleet was lost to view. Not at first, but slowly, did it become realised that the prognostications of peace-time alarmists had proved baseless. There had been no "bolt from the blue," as had been foretold; neither invasion, nor raid, nor foray was attempted upon British shores, and there was no anxiety about food. There was always, with economy, enough to eat.

But popular confidence seemed for a time to be unreasonably disturbed by a record of successive alarming and generally unexplained incidents—the escape of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* in the Mediterranean, the sinking of the *Aboukir*, *Cressy*, *Hogue*, *Formidable*, and other vessels, the depredations of German raiding cruisers on the distant lines of our trade, the bombardment of Hartlepool, Whitby, and Scarborough, and other disquieting episodes. Strange as it may seem, there were people who went about asking, "What is the Fleet doing?" Was it not the ancient inspiration of the Navy to seek out the enemy and to capture or sink or burn his ships wherever they were to be found? Yet there was no battle. The German coast was not attacked. Allied shipping to the value of millions of pounds was being sunk. Why, then, was the Navy inactive? When, later on, the submarine menace assumed

formidable proportions, alarm began again to seize upon the newspapers, when there was justification only for precaution.

The hidden truth was not comprehended. Victories were expected when, owing to the coyness of the enemy's strategy, none were possible. The Seven Years' War—the most successful in British annals, the turning-point in British history, the war in which Horace Walpole asked each morning what victory there was to record—began with the disaster of Minorca, followed by the tragedy of Byng. The central facts of naval history were but little known. Yet the Navy was, and is, in truth, all in all to the country, the Empire, and the Allies.

Before we enter into the main purpose of this book, in which we shall discover in several theatres of war the real nature of sea-power, as well as the character and momentous consequences of the antagonism which grew up between England and Germany, we may inquire what services could in reason have been expected from the Navy in the great cataclysm which was about to sweep with destruction over the nations. It would not have been expected to fight a battle every month or even every year, for battles are rare events in naval history. It would not have been expected to attack fortified coasts, though it might do so on occasions, because ships are designed and built to fight at sea. The Navy would not have been expected to forestall every untoward incident. Fish often slip through the net, as raiders have slipped through our guard in this and other wars. Nor, in these days of the stealthy submarine and the blind death-dealing mine, could the Fleet have been expected to remain immune from every misfortune. No one could have expected the Navy to devise a single conclusive defence against the attack of the submarine, any more than it was asked to find an infallible remedy for the effects of gunfire.

What we should have expected was that it would make the sea again the protecting wall, as Shakespeare says, of the British Isles,

Or as a moat defensive to a house
Against the envy of less happier lands.

We should have expected it to safeguard the incoming of the supplies without which neither the people nor their industries could exist—to be the panoply of all trade and interests afloat, whether in the nature of imports or exports. We should have expected it to deny all external activity to the enemy at sea—we might not have anticipated the advent of the submarine as a pirate commerce-destroyer—to shut off his sea-borne supplies, and to exert that noiseless pressure on the vitals of the adversary of which Admiral Mahan speaks—"that compulsion, whose silence, when once noted, becomes to the observer the most striking and awful mark of the working of sea-power." We should have expected the Navy to become the support, in thrust and holding, of the armies in the field—the shaft to their spearhead; their flank and rearguard also. Inasmuch as the war is world-wide, and we have powerful Allies, we should have expected naval influence and pressure to be manifested in the oceans, in the Mediterranean, and, indeed, wherever the enemy is and the seas are. Finally, we should have expected the Navy to be to the British Empire what it has always been to the Empire's heart—its safeguard from injury and disruption, and the bond that holds it together.

Each one of these functions has been executed by in Navy with triumphant success in the war, and history would show that it is executing them now as the Sea Service has accomplished them in all the wars of the past.

CHAPTER II

The Centre of Sea-Power[A]

Of speedy victory let no man doubt,
Our worst work's past, now we have found them out.
Behold, their navy does at anchor lie,
And they are ours, for now they cannot fly.

Andrew Marvel, 1653.

OF all the theatres of the war, on sea or land, the North Sea is the most important. It is vital to all the operations of the Allies. Command of its waters and its outlets is the thing that matters most. In that sea is the centre of naval influence. It is the key of all the hostilities. From either side of it the great protagonists in the struggle look at one another. There the great constriction of the blockade is exerted upon Germany. It is the *mare clausum* against which she protests. Geography is there in the scales against her. She rebels against British sea supremacy. The "freedom of the seas" is, therefore, her claim—though she is endeavouring to qualify to be the tyrant of them. Her only outlook towards the outer seas is from the Bight of Heligoland and the fringe of coast behind the East Frisian Islands, or from the Baltic, if her ships pass the Sound or the Belt, issuing into the North Sea through the Skager-Rak. But they cannot reach the ocean, except through the North Passage, where the Grand Fleet holds the guard. Only isolated

raiders, bent upon predatory enterprise, have stealthily gone that way after nightfall. At the southern gate of the North Sea, through the Straits of Dover and in the Channel, the way is barred. The guns of Dover, the Dover Patrol, and certain other deterrents forbid the enemy to adventure in that direction.

[A] See Map I., at end of book.

The new engines of naval warfare—the mine, submarine, airship, and aeroplane—found their first and greatest use in the North Sea; and only by employing craft which hide beneath the water, and, on rare occasion, by destroyers which seek the cover of darkness for local forays, have the Germans been able to exert their efforts in any waters outside the North Sea. At the beginning of the war they had raiding cruisers in the Pacific and Atlantic, and a detached squadron in the Far East; but the British Fleet reached out to those regions, and, aided by the warships of Japan and France, it drove every vestige of German naval power from the oceans.

In the North Sea, therefore, sea-power has exerted its greatest, most vital, and most far-reaching effect. There the Germans, if they had possessed the power, could have struck a blow which, if successful for them, would have proved a mortal stroke at the British Empire and would have rendered useless all the efforts of the Allies. Millions of men, incalculable volumes of guns, munitions, and stores of every imaginable kind for the use of the greatest armies ever set in the field, have entered the French ports solely because the Grand Fleet holds the guard in the North Sea. The whole face of the world would have been changed by German naval victory. England would have been subjected by invasion and famine. If the heart of the Empire had been struck, what would have been the future of its members? If sea communication with the Allies had been cut, what would have been their fate at the hands of the victors? The attacks of sallying cruisers and destroyers upon the coast towns of England,

the "tip and run" raids, as they have been called, and the visits of bomb-dropping airships and aeroplanes are the signs of the naval impotence of Germany.

The situation in the North Sea is, therefore, of absorbing interest. It may be studied chiefly from the two points of view of the strategy of the opposing fleets and the exercise of the blockade. There is a peculiarity in naval warfare, which is not found in warfare upon land, that a belligerent can withdraw his naval forces entirely from the theatre of war by retaining them, as with a threat, or in a position of weakness, behind the guns of his shore defences. Nothing of the kind is possible with land armies. A general can always find his enemy, and attack or invest him, and, if successful, drive him back, or cause him to surrender, and occupy the territory he has held. The Germans have chosen the reticent strategy of the sea. They have never come out to make a fight to a finish, to put the matter to the touch, "to gain or lose it all." The *animus pugnandi* is wanting to their fleet. It was necessary that they should do something. They could not lie for ever stagnant at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven. They could keep their officers and men in training by making brief cruises in and outside the Bight of Heligoland. They might, with luck, meet some portion of the Grand Fleet detached and at a disadvantage.

In any case, they were bold enough to take their chance on occasions, always with their fortified ports and mined waters and their submarines under their lee. They might succeed in reducing British superiority by the "attrition" of some encounters. Such was the genesis of the Dogger Bank battle of January 24th, 1915, when that gallant officer Sir David Beatty inflicted a severe defeat upon Admiral Hipper, and drove him back in flight, with the loss of the *Blücher* and much other injury. The same causes brought the German High Sea Fleet, under Admiral Scheer, into the great conflict, first with Sir David Beatty, and then with the main force of the Grand Fleet, under command of Sir John Jellicoe, on May 31st, 1916. The events of the great engagement of the Jutland Bank will not be related here. All that it is necessary to note is that the Germans had

so chosen their time that they were able to avoid decisive battle with Sir John Jellicoe's fleet by retreating in the failing light of the day, and that their adventure availed them nothing to break the blockade or otherwise to modify the impotent position in which they are placed at sea. That action operated to the disadvantage of England and her Allies in no degree whatever. The superiority of the British Fleet as a fighting engine had been placed beyond dispute.

The mine and the submarine have put an end to the system of naval blockade as practised by St. Vincent and Cornwallis. No fleet can now lie off, or within striking range of, an enemy's port. Battleships cannot be risked against submarines, acting either as torpedo craft or mine-layers, nor against swift destroyers at night. That is the explanation of the situation which has arisen in the North Sea. The blockade is necessarily of a distant kind. There are no places on the British coasts where the Grand Fleet could be located, except those in which it lies and from which it issues to sweep the North Sea periodically. The first essential is to control the enemy's communications, which is done effectively at the North Passage—between the Orkneys and Shetlands, and the Norwegian coast—and at the Straits of Dover. If the enemy desired a final struggle for supremacy at sea, with all its tremendous consequences, he could have it. But he can be attacked only when he is accessible. "There shall be neither sickness nor death which shall make us yield until this service be ended," wrote Howard in 1588. That is the spirit of the British Navy to-day. But, then, the Spanish Armada was at sea. It was not hiding behind its shore defences. Be it noted that the Germans, thus hiding themselves, enjoy a certain opportunity of undertaking raiding operations in the North Sea. It is not a difficult thing to rush a force of destroyers on a dark night against some point in an extended line of patrols and effect a little damage somewhere. What advantage the Germans hope to gain by such proceedings is difficult to discover.

The magnificence of the work of the British patrol flotillas and the auxiliary patrols must be recognised. In the North Sea these are subsidiary services of the Grand Fleet. Day and night, in every

weather—in summer heats and winter blasts and blizzards, when icy seas wash the boats from stem to stern and the cold penetrates to the bone—these patrols are at work. The records of heroism at sea in these services have never been surpassed, and England owes a very great deal to the men who came to her service. The mercantile marine has given its vessels to the State, from the luxurious liner to the fishing trawler, and officers and men have come in who have rendered priceless services. The trawlers have carried on their perilous work of bringing up the strange harvest of horned mines by the score. The patrol boats have examined suspicious vessels, controlled sea traffic, and watched the sea passages. The destroyer flotillas have been constantly at work and ready at any time to bring raiding enemy forces to action. The Royal Naval Air Service has never relaxed its activity and has engaged in countless combats.

It has sometimes been wondered why the Grand Fleet did not take some aggressive action: Why did it not attack the North German sea coast, or rout out the pestilent hornets' nest of Zeebrugge, which the enemy, by internal communications impregnable to sea-power, had provided with the most powerful guns, besides defending it by great mine-fields? This matter requires to be examined. Naval history abounds with evidence that to attack coast defences is not the proper or even the permissible work of warships. It is the business of military forces, though naval forces may often assist, and even give the means of victory. Moreover, what was once possible is not possible now. Would Nelson have attacked the French Fleet at the Nile if it had lain under the powerful guns of these days, and behind mine-fields, through the secret passages of which submarines could have issued to destroy him? It would be absurd to compare Nelson's attack upon a line of block-ships and rafts at Copenhagen, covered by a few forts armed with old smoothbores, to an attack upon coast positions defended by modern guns.

When old Sir Charles Napier was in the Baltic in 1854 he was denounced at home because he did not destroy Kronstadt or Helsingfors. He rightly refused to play his enemy's game by

endangering his ships. Captain (afterwards Admiral Sir) B. J. Sulivan, who was with the fleet, put the situation quite clearly in a letter written at the time. A military operation was really required then, as it would be now, to accomplish such a task.

> We know that two guns have beaten off two large ships with great loss. Had Nelson been here with thirty English ships he would have blockaded the gulf for years, without thinking of attacking such fortresses to get at ships inside. Brest, Toulon, and Cadiz were probably much weaker than these places.... I suppose there will be an outcry at home about doing nothing here, but we might as well try to reach the moon.

But the Navy has never left the Belgian coast secure from attack. It has never lost its aggressive spirit. It has attacked from the ship and the air. The seaplanes of the Royal Naval Air Service spotted for the guns when the monitors were bombarding. Bombs have repeatedly been dropped on Ostend, Zeebrugge, and the places in the rear. When the guns were silent there were reasons for it. A conjoint naval and military expedition was required. The enemy began to feel his hold on the coast precarious. Continued operations by sea and land might compel him to relax his grasp. Ships may not attack places defended by big guns, mine-fields, and submarines and destroyers issuing from secret passages through them, but it is certain the British naval offensive will never be paralysed.

Such is the magnificent work of the British Navy in blockading the German Fleet, molesting the enemy's coast positions, and controlling his communications with the oceans.

The commercial blockade, by which the enemy's supplies and commodities are cut off and his exports paralysed, is too large a subject to be dealt with here. The object is to bring the full measure of sea-power to bear in crushing the national life of the enemy. It is vital but "silent" work of the Navy, and does not lend itself to discussion or description. Questions of contraband and the right and

method of search, which arise from the blockade, caused discussions with the United States before the States came into the war. The only object of the British Navy and the Foreign Office was to put an end to the transit of the enemy's commodities, and to do so with the utmost consideration for the interests of neutrals, and complete protection for the lives of the officers and crews in their ships and in the examining ships. For these reasons neutral vessels were taken into port for examination, safe from the attentions of the enemy's submarines. One great hope of the Germans was that the neutrals would become more and more exasperated with England. They remembered that the war of 1812 arose from this very cause. But they were completely disappointed in all such hopes, and they themselves, by interfering with the free navigation of other countries, brought the United States into the war against them.

The blockade work of the examination service and of the armed boarding steamers has been extremely hazardous. It has called for the greatest qualities of seamanship, because conducted in every condition of weather and when storm and fog have made it extremely perilous to approach the neutral vessels—which, moreover, have sometimes proved to be armed enemies in disguise. Hundreds of vessels have been brought into port by the Navy in those northern waters. Sleepless vigilance has been required and the highest skill of the sea in every possible condition of the service, while the seaman has become a statesman in his dealings with the neutral shipmaster. It has been for the Navy to bring the ships into port, and for other authorities to inquire into their status and to take them before the Prize Court if required.

The German High Sea Fleet having failed, the submarine campaign was instituted, and began chiefly in the North Sea. It has never answered the expectations of its authors. It has not changed the strategic situation in any degree whatever. Great damage has been inflicted upon British interests, and valuable ships and cargoes have been sunk, and officers and men cast adrift in situations of ruthless hardship. The tale of the sea has never had a more terrible

record, nor one lighted by so much noble self-sacrifice and unfailing courage.

CHAPTER III

Sweeping the Enemy from the Oceans

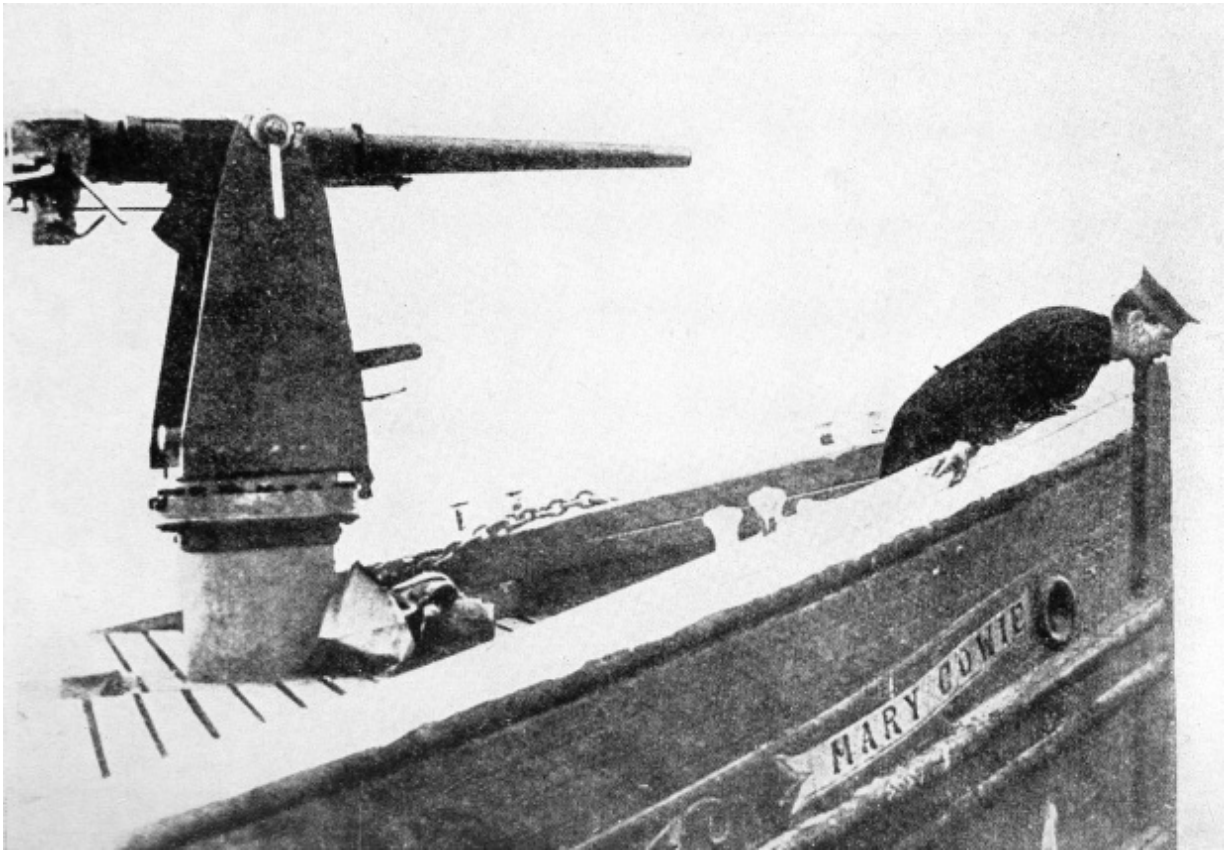
Far flung the Fleet then,
   Freeing the seas,
Clearing the way for men,
   Merchantmen these.
Sinking or flying,
   Broken their power,
The enemy dying
   Left England Her dower.

J. L.

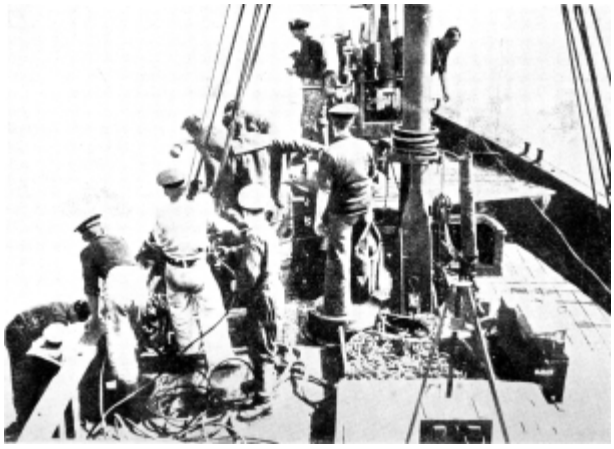
IN the foregoing chapter some reference was made to the campaign of the German raiding cruisers and armed liners against British and Allied commerce in the distant waters of the Atlantic and Pacific during the early months of hostilities, and before we go any further this aspect of the war must be discussed. One object of the enemy was to lead to a scattering of British naval strength, but in this he was wholly disappointed. The distribution of the British Fleet remained unchanged, and the great numbers of swift cruisers and armed liners, which had been apprehended as presenting a formidable menace to commerce, made but a feeble appearance. The commerce-raiding campaign gave rise, however, to a good deal of alarm at the time, though it surprised no one who

understood the means made available by the scientific and mechanical developments of modern naval warfare, and who had studied them in the light of history.

The interruption or destruction of the enemy's commerce has always been one of the objects in naval warfare. British floating commerce offered a very large target, and the swift German cruisers, directed by wireless telegraphy and supplied by friendly neutrals, were at work on the lines followed by shipping, making it inevitable that there should at first be considerable losses to the Allies. Admiral Mahan thought that the British total losses in the long wars of the French Revolution and Empire did not exceed 2½ per cent. of the commerce of the Empire. The Royal Commission on the Supply of Food in Time of War expressed the opinion that 4 per cent. would have been a more accurate estimate.



A DRIFTER AT SEA: LOOKING FOR SUBMARINES AND MINES



A Drifter Laying Anti-Submarine Nets.

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